Splitting Tactics used in Guiana

says CHEDDI JAGAN

". . . But we can find no escape from the logical conclusion that so long as the present leadership and policies of the People's Progressive Party continue, there is no way in which any real measure of self-government can be restored in British Guiana" . . . .

Thus spoke the Robertson Constitution Commission in paragraph 212 of the Report released in November, 1954, on the British Guiana situation. There must be an indefinite "period of marking time"—no constitution, no elections. The dictatorial regime of Governor Savage is to continue with his puppet Legislative Council of his 27 nominated members (six—five of whom lost deposits—were defeated candidates at the 1953 elections when the P.P.P. won eighteen out of twenty four seats).

Incidentally, the British Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Lennox Boyd, speaking in the House of Commons accepted the Commission's conclusions except that without prejudice to the indefinite "period of marking time," he fixed December 1957, as the life of the present puppet Legislature.

This seems to have been the line of reasoning of the Commission. No other Party or Parties, singly or in combination, can win against the P.P.P. at any election, now or in the near forseeable future. Therefore, there must be no elections.

Constitutional life will proceed again when one or both of two events take place. One, the weakening of the P.P.P. vis-a-vis the other parties. Two, a split within the ranks of the Party.

In support of Scheme Number One, the Commission stated that **"we would hope that in the period (of marking time) plans for social and economic development would be energetically pursued and that the gradual improvement of social and economic conditions would help to bring about a change in the political outlook of the electorate."** In other words, by "pump-priming" with "gifts" and loans from H.M.'s Treasury, the people must be bribed away from supporting the P.P.P. in its fight against Colonialism.

But just in case the people are not foolish enough to

continued on page 5

March-April ★ ★ 1955

CARIBBEAN NEWS 6d.

Manley has No Solution for Jamaica

From our Jamaica Reporter

BY gaining 18 seats out of 32, the People's National Party has now become the elected Government of the colony. The Jamaica Labour Party, for ten years the elected Government, will now replace the P.N.P. as her Majesty's loyal (colonial style) Opposition.

The rejection of the Jamaica Labour Party represents a strong protest against the high cost of living, mass unemployment, graft and corruption, and at the same time testifies to the mounting resistance to imperialist enslavement.

This is being reflected more than all in the defeat of Donald Sangster, ex-Minister of Finance, Chairman of the "300 Year British-Rule Celebrations Committee." He lost by 3,000 odd votes as against his majority of 48 in 1949.

The anti-working class activities of two other Ministers was to a large extent responsible for their defeat. The ex-Minister of Labour who refused to make available the Government's machinery to the Sugar and Agricultural Workers' Union despite its unquestionable membership on certain sugar estates, and who 'advised' all employers to do likewise, is one of them. He is now on his way to England, where he may find 'better' company. This should be a warning to the in-coming Minister of Labour.

The other is the ex-Minister of Communication and Works, Lawton Bloomfield who, because of his support of big business, had caused two strikes in quick succession in departments under his portfolio—the Railway and Post Office—about two weeks before elections. The other five Ministers, including Busta-

(continued on page 6)

Around the Islands

March 4th: NORMAN TANG, who operates as Minister of Health, in TRINIDAD, announced today that Dr. Ernest Muir, Chairman of the British Empire Leprosy Relief Association and Dr. Souza Dana, of the World Health Organisation, will be coming to Trinidad soon.

The pair are due to conduct an inquiry into the treatment, control and rehabilitation of lepers in the island.

More Conferences

Between March 13th and 18th, a Conference was due to take place in Port of Spain on 'Movement' of persons between the territories after the introduction of the Federal Constitution on a Crown-Colony basis in 1956.

Lord Lloyd, British Under Secretary of State for the British Colonies, will preside. He will be assisted by another Englishman, Sir Stephen Luke, who is also charged by the British Government to organise the mechanics of the Federal organisation.

Lots of West Indian lawyers will be there!

Jobs for the Boys

March 1st: Mr. Deverell, Colonial Secretary in JAMAICA, has been appointed on promotion to be Governor of the WINDWARD ISLANDS. He succeeds Sir Edward Beetham, another Colonial Office employee who, too, seems to please his masters. He's going on to replace Rance, who retires from his post in TRINIDAD.

Wonder which capitalist company will offer him (Rance) a Directorship, now?

TOP NOTCH GIRL

"CARIBBEAN News" girl of the month is Hannah Greenwood, who has ben consistently topping sales of the paper for several issues. Selling from house to house, at meetings, dances, and tubes, Hannah has become a popular figure among West Indians.

For November-December she sold 120, increased to 256 in January, and as we go to press the figure for her February issue sales is already 250 with more to come.

One of Hannah's favourite tastes is for B.G. peppertpot!

C.L.C. A.G.M

THE Executive Committee of the Caribbean Labour Congress (London Branch) at its last meeting announcd that the Annual General Meeting of the organisation will take place on Sunday, June 26 . at 2.30 p.m. in the main hall, 3 Robert Street, N.W.1.

In the programme will be a performance by the West Indian Festival dance group. All are invited.

Read all about

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★ EDITORIAL ★

Guiana

IT is now just about six months since the British Government-appointed Robertson Commission made its report.

It reported back last November that the people continued to support the People's Progressive Party. Between then and now the British Government has been at work on two lines. One was to fool the Guianese people by talking big about development, housing schemes, and so on, thereby winning them away.

The other was more subtle—to split the leadership of the P.P.P. and thereby the party itself.

Mr. Ashton Chase, former P.P.P. Minister of Labour, said in London, as reported in our February issue. "The Robertson Commission's Report . . . was a clever attempt to split the P.P.P. on the basis of ideology and race. It sought to divided the party into who are Socialists and who are Communists, with personal references."

In other words, the British Government, which accepted the Report, said: Get rid of the 'extremists' and be good boys the rest of you, 'cooperate' with us and our exploitation and then you'll be allowed to have elections again.

Ashton Chase also had said recently: "But we don't intend to back pedal. We'll go forward no matter what ideologies there are, on the basis of unity."

In those few words Mr. Chase expressed the absolutely correct attitude from the point of view of the movement.

Unfortunately, however, from what has occurred, it appears that some leaders and members of the P.P.P. may have unwittingly fallen for the imperialist line.

Very briefly, the incident over which the split took place was whether a Congress should be held under the present conditions of police restrictions on movement of delegates.

Insofar as the facts are known to us, the 1953 Congress had decided that the next Congress would be a delegate congress, as distinct from a member's conference, and that it would be held in Berbice.

In March 1954, however, because of conditions of restriction, etc., a conference could not be held.

A section of the leadership felt that a Congress should be held now despite police restrictions. While others considered that any such gathering would be unrepresentative unless Government lifted restrictions on movement so that accredited delegates from P.P.P. branches all over the coast could attend.

'Not police congress'

Decisions were taken finally in the Executive Committee to convene a Conference in Georgetown on February 12th and 13th. During these deliberations however, several members of the E.C. were in prison, and when the General Council met there was not a quorum.

Statements and leaflets were issued before the Conference by two sections of opinion.

The Chairman issued a statement saying that despite what the Secretary had said to the contrary, there **would** be a Congress.

Sydney King, former Minister of Communications, in a leaflet headed "Lift Emergency Orders—Hold People's Congress, Not Police Congress," pointing out that a congress under such circumstaonces would be playing into the hands of the Imperialist Government, said: "No, Comrades! They can kick us out of the Government. They can jail us, make us report daily to the police, but can we allow them to carry out their designs? No! This will be surrender."

Agreement was reached, however, the night before the Conference was to take place and a joint statement was issued in the name of the Chairman and Secretary, saying that it would be purely a members' meeting with a fixed agenda. in Georgetown.

But at the meeting, Clinton Wong, who had resigned from the party when he did not get a Ministry in the P.P.P. government in 1953, rose and proposed suspension of standing orders in order to vote for a new Executive Committee. This the Chairman accepted, under protest from the Secretary. There followed a walkout of several E.C. members and members at the meeting.

The Secretary subsequently declared the meeting and its decisions invalid as a bona fide Congress.

Allied with the holding of an unrepresentative conference should be borne in mind the threat by Brüish Imperialism that there would be no new elections until the Left was removed from leadership.

Any idea that progress will be achieved by 'cleaning up' the party, making it respectable, is grossly mistaken. That is not the way imperialism works, and cannot be fought by such methods.

The imperialists played heavily upon this feeling and have temporarily succeeded in confusing sections of the movement.

The task now facing the Guianese people is the cementing of unity in the course of the struggle against imperialism.

'DON'T BAR COLOURED WORKERS FROM BRITAIN'

THE British Government must not use legislation to bar coloured Colonials from coming to Britain, was the unanimous decision of delegates from 102 organisations taking part in a Conference called by the Movement for Colonial Freedom in London on Janaury 30th.

The Conference dealt with the problems of coloured immigrants to Britain, and delegates from trade union branches, Labour Party branches, co-operative societies and other organisations were given on the whole a picture of conditions of life in the West Indies and the reasons why West Indians are emigrating. Delegates went away with the feeling that they had learned much about the situation.

Mr. Yussef Hosein, Chairman of the West Indies Society of the London School of Economics, was the first speaker from the platform and he produced facts and figures testifying to the appalling poverty, unemployment, sickness and malnutrition in the West Indies.

Even the gruesome account given by Mr. Hosein was thought to be inadequate a picture by Mrs. Mabel Allen, wife of the former Jamaican Minister of Education. She said forty per cent. of Jamaicans were illiterate, and drew attention to the lack of places in the nursing profession in Jamaica for girls who would like to come to work in Britain.

Nearly all the speakers referred to the need for development of the economy of the West Indies, but a former Judge in the West Indies, Mr. C. W. Greenidge, felt there was no room for development except in British Honduras.

Another view as put, however, by Mr. Billy Strachan, of the Caribbean Labour Congress. He described the immense riches of the whole West Indies, including 90 per cent. of the capitalist world's bauxite resources, oil, sugar, iron, timber, manganese, copper, diamonds, and over 300 other minerals. He said that seven British companies drew in one year 3½ million pounds in profit from little Trinidad. And he made a resouding call for independence for the West Indies NOW, to be able to develop these resources.

STARVATION LEVEL

The average income per head of the 600 million people of Asia covered by the Colombo Plan is less than £20 per year, accoridng to the second annual report of the Colombo Plan.

LETTER BOX

Just the thing I needed

Dear Editor,

Thank you for your letter dated 22/1. I am very grateful for the information received and I must add that "Caribbean News" was just the thing I needed. You see, some of my Scottish friends seem to think that Jamaica and other W.I. islands are a bed of roses, just as the tourist brochures describe it.

Yes! I will be delighted to send any news of our W.I. comrades. So far there hasn't been anything worth while reporting save that the Glasgow Corporation announced that it would welcome applications for jobs from Colonials; at the moment there are a few employed on buses, tramcars, etc.

I remarked recently that I had a few suggestions. Now I am happy to say your previous issue contained two of them—(1) Viewpoint, (2) Sports Column.

I will now suggest two others:

(1) Circulation.

At the next meeting I suggest that you ask everyone concerned to make an effort to get at least one new reader, and I am sure if every self-respecting West Indian makes the effort, it can be done.

(2) Finance.

I trust I am right in assuming that "Caribbean News" is run solely on a non-profit making basis; that is to say no individual stands to gain financially.

I further suggest that you make an appeal for guarantors, say a target of 200 to start with, each guaranteeing to contribute so much each month. That, I am sure, will give a big boost to the fighting fund. Maybe this part is a bit far fetched, but I am sure it is not fantastic.

Is it possible to approach your Executve Committee to make readers own the paper? I am fully aware of the many difficulties such an idea would involve, but I am sure it could be done.

Enclosed herewith please find the sum of six shillings for 12 copies of February issue of "Caribbean News."

Regards to all members of the staff.

Fraternally yours,

Harold Tate (Clydebank).

New Constitutions Again

From our St. Vincent Correspondent

THE People's Political Party returned in 1 cal elections held in the town of Georgetown, Saint Vincent, three of the four elected members in the Town Council. Their term is a period of three years.

The B.B.C. announced recently so-called new Constitutions for the Leeward and Windward Islands. The Islands of the groups mainly affected are Antigua and some others of the Leewards, Grenada, St. Vincent, St. Lucia.

Dominica abstained from taking part in the proposed schemes, called by the Secretary of State for the Colonies "constitutional advancement."

It was further announced that the constitutional instruments for the changes have been received from Whitehall and the local Legislature in St. Vincent was preparing for a debate on the 13th January 1955.

A motion is to be tabled in the Legislative Coun to debate the promise of an investigation into th matter of Joshua's arrest on the 20th December 1952, with all the resultant consequences which this most heinous act entailed. The motion is to call upon the present Secretary of State for Colonial Affairs to carry out the promise of investigating the matter of Joshua's arrest and maltreatment, and expense of unwarranted proceedings taken against him by ill-advised legal men.

The British Guiana Government under savage interim dictatorship declared the Hon. E. T. Joshua an undesirable visitor to the Colony of British Guiana. It was noted that the same thing was done in Trinidad.

Wage Boards

In their mad fury to stamp out Trade Unionism and to handicap the Federated Industrial and Agricultural Workers' Union, the Administration, through the agent and their labour stooges, are busy setting up wage boards. In the supposed new Constitution, the Administrator, and incidentally the Governor, will be Minister of Labour.

In the 3rd Sessions of the Annual Conference of Delegates of the F.I.A.W.U., election of officers took place on the 3rd January, and the President, E. T. Joshua, was unanimously re-elected, with an executive committee of twenty persons. The Secretary, Alma Johnson, remained in office at the pleasure of the Union.

The President's brother Joseph Conrad Joshua, is coming to England in March. He will be sailing with his wife from Trinidad in the first week in March. He is trying to study law, as his brother needs an honest lawyer. To all our friends, well-wishers and C.L.C. comrades, assist Com. J. C. Joshua wherever he may stand in need.

Irish Solidarity

THE "Irish Democrat," in its February editorial, deals frankly with the question of mounting discrimination against the Irish in Britain, and offers some lines of action to counteract and combat the attacks and propaganda against them. But they do not only concern themselves with the Irish, for says also: "When you find the coloured boys being attacked (and they are getting the brunt of it right now), don't fall for the argument that if they are punishing Sambo they'll lay off Paddy. The fact that they establish the principle of discrimination will tell heavily against us because nobody knows who will be next. So fight for the coloured men AS IF THEY WERE IRISH!"

Need we add that the same holds true for West Indians. Unity in the common fight is the only solution.

* * *

Bosses Got Scared

THE Jamaica Federation of Trade Unions had its first general conference on February 6th. Ferdinand Smith was elected President, Rolly Simms 1st Vice-President, Ivy Harris 2nd Vice-President, Grigsby General Secretary, McClarthy Treasurer, and 3 trustees.

In Siloah, Appleton Estate tried a bluff. Management refused to take back any men from the districts where the vote had been overwhelmingly for Gordon (the People's Freedom Movement candidate). But after Rolly Simms spent a week out there and the four of them, Rolly Simms, Gordon, Don Horne and Winston Monroe had been round the districts and explained the facts to everybody, the estate got scared and took everybody back.

THAT FAMOUS TOUR . . .

What Margaret did not see

READERS of "Caribbean News" will perhaps excuse their paper for not sending a reporter and photographer along as the big capitalist press did to cover the every move of Princess Margaret of Britain in her much boosted tour of the West Indies.

At least one of the reasons is a little matter of finance, and we are sure readers can think of several other ways they would like to see such money spent, if we had it.

Nevertheless, oodles of columns of newsprint and thousands of feet of film have been churned out to inform how lavish the preparations were and how local flunkeys turned out to bend the knee.

The Royal visitor was carefully shepherded through the major territories of the British dominated West Indies, including Trinidad, Barbados, Antigua, Grenada, St. Vincent, Jamaica, and Bahamas. One notable exception was Guiana. Do you wonder why?

Our people, by and large, regarded the affair as a ma[illegible]ght relief providing some variation and spectacle in their lives.

Margaret seems to have enjoyed the calypsos. Well, good for her! The calypso bands and folk dancing put on for her only indicates what our people can really do culturally, and in a much bigger way given the chances.

Lavish garden fetes for up to three thousand people and parties were got up with selected social climbers invited. But alongside these expensive shows, they went to a lot of trouble to hide the poverty and slums along the Royal route.

McColl, of the "Daily Express" had this to say: "You know, I think it is a pity that the Princess never gets to see anything except the main streets, the big squares, and the nice views. Turn down nearly any side street in this part of the world and pretty soon you are among squalor, poverty, and sleaziness. I do not suppose the Princess has any notion that scores of people sleep on the pavements every night in Port of Spain. She does not get to see the beggars that infest parts of these islands."

In Kingston, Jamaica, painted boards were put up along the route to conceal the hovels from royal eyes, though I don't suppose Margaret could not have stood it.

Our St. Vincent correspondent described the expense and lengths the Government went to in whitewashing and cleaning, and asks why the money could not be found normally to do these things. They even painted stones in the river.

THIS family sleeps on the concrete floor of a shed at premises of the Kingston Charity Organisation on lower Church Street, in Central Kingston. Here they are in the early morning of June 1st, 1953, having spent the night right where they are with paper bags for a mattress. The mother has already gone in search of food and grandmother is in charge. Note the new frocks and shoes—these were a "coronation" charity distribution by the society ladies designed to encourage "loyalty." Living in Central Kingston they were lucky, others like them living in the slums would not attract the notice of these ladies.

FESTIVAL IN WARSAW

IN trying to popularise this year's Festival in Warsaw, at the factory where I work I come into conflict with some emigre Poles. These chaps either know nothing about the present Government in Poland or are going all out to "mauvais langue" it

In conversation with one of these fellows, I told him of my intentions of going to his MOTHER land. Well, you can imagine the fuss he kicked up. He was pretty sure that I'll never return, that I'll be sent to some forced labour camp and all that sort of nonsense.

Seeing that I was getting well ahead in convincing my fellow British workmates what a good tme was in store for all at the Festival, he told them that going was quite a foolish thing, using the usual anti-Communist claptrap, that the majority of the people were hostile to the government, they would most likely harm them.

This barrage of stupidity from the Pole went on for some time. Finally realising that it was to no avail, he then said the Polish Youth would give us the most cordial hospitality that can be dreamt of anywhere . . . . . fearing the wrath of their government.

I am convinced more than ever now, for surely this Pole has certainly defeated his purpose, because any fool would realise that no government can forcibly make young people dance, smile in a way a West Indian could appreciate.

On the whole the Festivals have become internationally recognised as the leading events of sport and culture. It is the only occasion that would make it possible for West Indians to meet other young people of various nationalities, colour and beliefs in peace and friendshp.

For us the Festival would be really unique. There would be the chance of really seeing the truth of what is going on behind the Anglo-American iron curtain. Warsaw is very significant, as just ten years ago it stood ruthlessly devastated by Nazism. The remarkable achievement of reconstruction in ten years of people's rule will surely be a symbol of hope for us.

West Indians desirous of joining our happy band for the Festival should write to the Youth Organiser of Caribbean Labour Congress (L.B.) soon, as the closing date for applications is the 18th June.

* * *

Festival—Warsaw-Poland.
Time—31st July to 14th August.
Cost—£29 for two weeks, £33 for 3 weeks.

Trevor Carter

BOOK WORLD

Missing the Facts

LAST October the Labour Party adopted a policy statement on the Colonies, at its annual conference. This was analysed by Y. Hosein in the February issue of "Caribbean News."

Two months after that bare skeleton was adopted, a pamphlet was issued which in its 40 pages gives fuller expression to those original ideas. "Facing Facts in the Colonies" (6d.) is a Labour Party discussion pamphlet, of which Morgan Phillips, Secretary of the Party, in the foreword, says it "should in no sense be regarded as an official policy statement."

Nevertheless, the pamphlet develops the themes of the official statement in the form of posing problems and questions. But one is not left puzzling long to see which way the official policy makers are inclined.

The issues and problems are posed in such a way as to lead to watering down any principles of Socialism still held by the Labour Party.

Conceding that Colonial people are poor "in a way that not even the depression in this country taught us to understand," it goes on to say, "We have not created that poverty; it it implicit in the climatic conditions, in the insect pests which are destructive of plants and human health, and in the special soil problems of tropical countries."

Of course imperialiism did not **create** poverty. But putting it in this way is used to disguise the fact that it is the system by which a few are enriched at the expense of millions, to keep these millions in poverty, increasing their misery, and by its very nature acting as a brake on the development of Colonial peoples.

The Labour imperialists base their existence on imperialism and have fashioned their ideologies on the assumption that the British **people** as a whole need to exploit the Colonies.

This comes out clearly in the horror picture held ou to the British people: "It is no use talking airily about increasing our assistance to the Colonies . . . . unless we are prepared to meet the real cost involved. And the real cost is not in money but in terms of goods forgone by the British people."

One gets the feeling that progressive rank and file Labour members are being threatened with sacrifice and defeat if they continue to press for development for the Colonies.

The issues are presented as so many insurmountable problems, involving psychological quirks, and one gets the impression that the official Labour Party is helpless to solve these 'problems.' Which underlines the fact that Labour Party policy can contribute nothing to Colonial development, for the leaders have come to accept Tory capitalist policies as their own. They are now indistinguishabie.

★

Students' new magazine

FOR nine years the West Indian Students' Union has been in existence and at long last the Union is to be congratulated on producing a printed magazine of good standard.

This is not to say that W.I.S.U. had no magazines before or that they were not good. But in its printed format the magazine is able to get more material in, and the variety of subject matter is on the whole refreshing.

Ranging widely over federation, sports, poetry, short stories and the role of science in developing the West Indies, there is a particularly good article by Mr. A. E. Charles, M.A., on 'A Mixed Economy for Guiana.'

In this he says: "There can be no economic priority over political progress; in fact, both are complementary, particularly in colonies where monopoly vested interests so seldom pay the piper but always call the tune."

Dr. C. Belfield Clarke contributes an interesting and readable article on "West Indians in England."

Priced at one shilling, the magazine is a good buy.

We. of Caribbean News," know the difficulties of running a regular paper, and we sincerely wish success and good luck to W.I.S.U. for continued publication of their magazine for West Indian students.

MY FABULOUS JEWELS

Second article of a series on Federation by

BILLY STRACHAN

Cutting the tall sugar cane stalks in the West Indies

TODAY we are in the news.

Princess Margaret, sister of the British Queen, follows a year later to the Caribbean Islands to be feted, cheered and lavishly entertained. My, how things have changed; but it is a break for the poor folk at home. A spot of colour, public gaiety, and a little soft-pedalling on the old tale of our intense poverty.

I don't know how much the whole party cost but in addition to British taxpayers' money, for the cost of the Royal yacht Britannia (reputed to cost over £1,000,000), there has been the additional 'vote' for funds from the local cash boxes, for white washing the fronts of shops, shanties and bedraggled public buildings. Down in tiny St. Vincent, our correspondent Alma Johnson, tells us that they even white-washed the stones in the river! Not so poor, after all, are we?

But that's all chicken-feed, when we read of the ten million dollars that TRINIDAD LEASEHOLDS LTD. shipped away for 1954—in all, the six oil companies in Trinidad seized £3½ million, or seventeen and one-half million West Indian dollars. We therefore see in sharp relief the comment in the British Government approved Robertson Commission Report: "It is, however, clear from its physical make-up that British Guiana can hardly be much more economically than a comparatively poor country . . . ."

Expensive jaunts

Contrast this with the news from a B.G. capitalist news sheet on January 18th, that the Savage Government had agreed to pay the expenses for sending two of his nominees to Trinidad to pay their respects to the British Crown. It was expensive jaunts such as these, that Jagan and his colleagues would not waste the people's cash, but here we see the Hon. P. A. Cummings whom the electorate rejected at the 1953 General Elections off with his wife along with Mr. Garaj, with his wife to junket and flaunt with brazen cheek his subservience to a foregn monarchy.

But let's get back to TRINIDAD for one moment, they have a winner. The 'big boys' like Simon J. Vos and Lord Baileu of Dunlops and Trinidad Leaseholds know it too. The Oilfields Workers' Trade Union put in a demand for a paltry increase for 1955. and the mean cheese-parers refused. Four million tons of oil product are extracted annually.

The new refineries at Point Fortin and Point à Pierre have a capacity of 6,000,000 tons throughput. Governor Rance on October 24th, 1954, opening the 1954/55 Legislative Assembly boasted of the steady record of progress in the oil industry. He disclosed that oil moguls had secured exploration leases for a marine area of 900,0000 acres, slightly more than the land area already purloined, which is 89% of the total area of the beautiful isle, whose three prominent peaks motivated the religious Columbus to name it TRINIDAD.

Sugar & Spice

Poor rocky islands!—but let's be fair, a legend has been built up far and wide, that things are not TOO bad in Trinidad; that is, in comparison to the other territories. They only have 9 out of 30 of the labour force unemployed, whereas, the others have 10 out of thirty!

They produce sugar too, in Trinidad; just under 200,000 tons annually.

What a jewel! Remember the West Indies have been called the Sugar and Spice islands—and JAMAICA springs to mind.

But now the snags. Production is limited by the INTERNATIONAL SUGAR AGREEMENT, admitted by the Caribbean Commisision Report of 1949,

> "But for the restriction under the International Sugar Agreement, additional factories would have been erected, and the total sugar production of Jamaica would have been considerably greater."

Still Jamaica turns out more than a quarter of a million tons of sugar annually. Mr. G. Vernon Tate, of the WEST INDIES SUGAR CO. (a Tate and Lyle subsidiary) in his Annual Report of 1954 boasted:

> "We have had another successful year, both our factories again exceeding their previous production records."

Tate's two factories alone produced 137,852 tons at Frome and Monymusk.

Forestry

This company alone painfully extracted a NETT profit of £388,573. The whole Tate and Lyle kingdom (including the estates occupied by CARONI LTD. in Trinidad) secured a profit of over £3 million sterling. Besides sugar, there is molasses and rum as by-products.

GUIANA also is addicted to sugar production at the will of the foreign masters; they too, produce a million tons from 17 large plantations, mainly owned by London Registered companies.

Every island can produce sugar AD INFINITUM; Little England (Barbados) turns out 150,000 tons, St. Kitts 35,000 tons, Antigua 25,000 tons, etc. The only exception is Tobago and St. Thomas.

In Agriculture and Forestry, we enjoy proportionately unequalled potential wealth. GREENHEART, MAHOGANY, LIGNUM VITÆ and other hardwoods spread across HONDURAS and GUIANA. World prices remain sky-high, Gliksten of Honduras, and Bookers of Guiana thrive, but West Indian workers suffer some of the hardest and most gruelling conditions in this production.

ARROWROOT, LIMES, CLOVES and NUTMEG are bountiful in St. Vincent, Dominica and Grenada.

In fact, tiny little quaint Grenada accounts for one-fifth of the world supply of spice, amazingly a wholly peasant cultivated industry.

300 metals

GOLD from GUIANA, TIN from HONDURAS, cattle grazing facilities, COPPER and MANGANESE from JAMAICA, IRON and 300 other base metals, including URANIUM from GUIANA, all can contribute to economically successful industrialisation.

Today, above us all, giant cranes and shovels sear the skyline at MacKenzie, in Guiana, and Mandeville, in Jamaica. BAUXITE, the base for pure Aluminium, lies in untold quantities only surface deep beneath our rich top-soil. Estimates go to 300,000,000 tons, or over 9% of the total known deposits in the capitalist world. Production in GUIANA in 1953 was:

3,014,420 crude mined,
1,7769,993 kiln dried,
2,015,160 crude washed,
247,680 carbide bauxite.

Then what the dickens do all you West Indians fall over each other for, getting out by train, ship and aeroplane to London?

Who enjoys this sweet fat that flows from our rich land? Not me, or you my brother from Grenada, Tobago or St. Lucia. A.L.C.O.A., the Aluminium monster from Canada and the U.S.A., own **ALL** our bauxite. My country receives 1/- per ton royalty in Jamaica, or 4/- per ton in Guiana, and the Yankee thieves pocket £3 per ton on the world market.

Poor for the West Indians; but Rich for the Foreigner. So what are we going to do, ask JAGAN? or Manley?

Ed. Comment: Next month Billy Strachan will examine the two policies.

Barbados Round-up

From our Barbados Correspondent

DURING the past year the people of Barbados were able to identify themselves with all their brothers overseas who are fighting for self-government. We were able to bring to an end the ring of isloation which Adams, with the aid of the Colonial Office, was able to cast about us. The Caribbean Socialist Party of Barbados, which was formed by the Caribbean Peoples' Alliance last January, was foremost in this battle.

In January last year the C.S.P. held the biggest mass meeting that was ever held locally. Resolutions were passed, protesting the denial of the C.S.P. of their democratic rights to hold a mass meeting in Queen's Park as well as the undemocratic suspension of the constitution of Guiana. Our agitation subsequently was so great that Adams and his ministers, rather than risk voting against W. A. Crawford's Bill to allow Dr. Jagan and L. Burnham, to land here, walked out of the House, thus leaving the way clear for a unanimous vote.

In March, Ashton Chase, who was on his way to the Caracas Conference, was refused permission to land, but as soon as the C.S.P. was aware of this they took the matter up with a member of the House and are still awaiting a satisfactory reply from the Government, who tried to deny the whole incident.

The C.S.P. was the only party in the island to celebrate May Day 1954, and the success of our giant rally and mass meeting put the scare in the local Wall Street boys. Nevertheless, none of these attacks caused us to worry as they only served to attract more and more of the masses to our two organisations.

Scared of Ideas

The exercise of our democratic freedom to import and read any kind of literature we liked, seemed to cause the local Big Sixes some worry and they used this heart-ache as an excuse to justify an assault on our cherished freedoms by claiming that Communist literature was invading the island, and went on to claim that if nothing was done soon, Barbados would become another B.G.

Some of us could only pray to God it really did, for we see British Guiana not as a land of anti-imperialist foreign agents, but as the first Colony in the West Indies to make a successful exposure of imperialist tactics and their favourite quotation of 'leadinig backward people to their goal of self-government.'

August saw the cowardly and spineless resignation from the Barbados Workers' Union of the President Grantley who, for three consecutive years, failed to produce the accounts of the Union in a condition to be audited. One couldn't help feeling for some of these misguided workers who, by the most indescribable means, were able to save Union subscriptions from some of the lowest wages found anywhere, who only ended up by seeing their money unaccounted for.

But the greatest event of the year came in November last, when a member of our party, Mr. Cameron Tudor, who, as an Independent Socialist candidate, defeated the Labour Party and its candidate in a by-eleciton. This defeat of Adams and the Labour Party was made possible by the unstinting support given Tudor by members of our Party. The "Beacon," Adams' paper, kept up a constant attack on the President of the C.S.P., whom, they admitted, played the most important part in the downfall of the Adams' candidate. This success, no doubt, shows Adams that the writing is on the wall.

Combat this evil

AT its annual general meeting on February 22nd, the Wembley Branch of the Associated Society of Engineering and Shipbuilding Draughtsmen, after listening to a West Indian speaker, Mr. Val Alcock, passed the foll wing resolution:

This Branch is concerned with the dangers attending the recent expression of racialism evinced by the attitude of the West Bromwich busmen, members of the T.G.W.U.

It calls on the E.C. to raise with the T.U.C. the question of actively combating this evil.

Must have the pie now — not when we die

In this concluding article YUSSUF HOSEIN discusses a progressive programme for the West Indies

THE dicussion in the previous issue has shown that the Labour Party has nothing concrete to offer the West Indies. This "Socialist" party has condemned us to a miserable existence. There is little hope for us, and we must be patient; "there's pie in the sky when we die." But since we prefer "pie" while we are alive, we must be up and doing. We must have a sound programme based on an analysis of the conditions which are at present ruining the West Indies.

One writer on the West Indies has very ably summed up the causes of the depraved conditions as being due to:

(1) Single crop economy.

(2) Emphasis on export crops which has

(a) discouraged local food production;

(b) retarded manufacturing.

(3) Land is wastefully used, especially by the large Estate owners.

(4) Prices of the agricultural products are too low, while the profit demands of the absentee owners several thousand miles away are too high to allow a living wage to the workers.

(5) Absentee control of both the political and economic life of the W.I. This last point is the crux of the trouble, and any progressive programme must aim at changing that situation.

PAPERING CRACKS

The first and most important aim is to win our independence. The phoney Federation plans of the Colonial Office must be exposed. It merely transfers financial responsibility to the W.I. while the main branches of Government, especially finance and foreign affairs, are retained by the Colonial Office. What we need is a real Federation which would place full control of all affairs in our oyn hands. Anything short of complete independence is just trying to paper up he cracks, while leaving gaping holes elsewhere.

So long as full political control does not rest in our hands, our resourves would be drained away. A good example is that about £10 million worth of bauxite is extracted from B.G. and Jamaica each year, while both colouies together get less than £200,000 for it. With political control we would be in a position to socialise the economy for the benefit of all our people. Land settlement schemes must be introduced.

Unused lands of the large estates, and Crown lands must be distributed in leasehold to peasant families, care being taken to ensure that the holdings are large enough to support the family. Our farmers must move away from the cash crop idea, and single crop economy, to a diversified form of agriculture, with emphasis on scientific farming to produce food. Ranching must be developed to provide meat and milk.

ELECTRICITY

Hand in hand with food production must go industrial development. Textiles, shoes, building materials (cement, bricks, timber, plaster boards, tiles), are some industries to be developed. Instead of exporting cocoa, sugar, citrus fruits etc. in raw form, they must be refined and processed. Water power must be harnessed to produce electricity for domestic and industrial use. Electricity would allow us to extract alumina from the bauxite, so leading to development of aluminium products.

All these development schemes would provide work for our people, and make it possible to raise the standard of living by providing better food, housing, schools and social services. Production would be for the benefit of our people and not a few capitalists in Canada, England, and the United States. Naturally we would have to depend on friendly nations for loans to set up these schemes, but as we would have commodities to offer in exchange, we would be able to get the necessary money.

ACT NOW

The above programme would necessarily take several years before it could be fully implemented. As little of the wealth now produced in the W.I. is left behind, an immediaite step for an independent W.I. Government would be to retain most of it by increasing profit and income tax, and putting an end to excess profits.

The revenue resulting would help us to embark on the above schemes. The interests of the few must be subordinated to the interests of all. This will become a reality when we forget our petty differences, shake off our prejudices, and unitedly join the fight for an independent Federation.

Imperialism's splitting moves

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give up the P.P.P., then there is another road—the old policy of divide and rule. Split the Party by playing up to one section, the minority against the majoritiy, the "moderates" versus the "radicals."

In India it was the Moslems versus the Hindus; in Palestine, the Arabs versus the Jews, in British Guiana, it is the Africans versus the Indians, the Democrats, the "Socialists" versus the extremists, the "Communists."

In paragraph 214, the Commission clearly pointed the road of opportunism and treachery when it said: **"The extremist leaders of the P.P.P. and the policies for which they stand are the sole barriers to constitutional progress."** For the British imperialists, of course, the definition of the term "extremist" has a wide range of elasticity. The Indians know this only too well. Was it not only yesterday when Prime Minister Nehru and other Indian leaders were the widest extremists. According to the British yardstick, even the Kabaka of Buganda was an extremist.

Kick out left

The people and even some of the leaders, the Commission then went on to suggest, must purge the party of this "extremist" leadership, must change its policy. The right wing must kick out the left wing. The moderates must bring the policy in line with imperialist plans. After this there may be hope for new elections.

Knowing that the East Indians are the majority racial group, the "extremist" leader of the Party is an Indian, the deputy "democratic socialist" leader an African, the government administrative machinery chiefly in the hands of Africans, the Commission sought to sow the seeds of discord and dissension by attacking the Indians. The Indian element, it said, has now shaken off its previous lethargy. It raised the old bogy of Indian educational and commercial success being a threat to the security of the other races, particularly the Africans, who constitute the second major race group. **"Their very success in these spheres,"** it asserted, **"has begun to awaken the fears of the African section of the population, and it cannot be denied that since India received her independence in 1947 there has been a marked self-assertiveness amongst Indians in British Guiana. Guianese of African extraction were not afraid to tell us that many Indians in British Guiana looked forward to the day when British Guiana would be a part, not of the British Commonwealth but of an East Indian Empire. The result has been a tendency for racial tension to increase . . . . . today the relationships are strained; the present an outward appearance which masks the feelings of suspicion and distrust."**

Opponent refutes

Mr. C. R. Jacob, President of the East Indian Association, roundly attacked this viewpoint, which he described as "purely fictitious." He went on to state **"There is greater unity today than there ever was in the history of this country, and it is because of this unity that Guianese witnessed the great conspiracy of last year which resulted in the rape of the Waddington Constitution."** Lest it be assumed that Mr. Jacob is speaking for the P.P.P., let me point out that he was an opponent of ours at the last elections.

Made mistake

Should one or both of these sinister schemes succeed, what is the plum that is held out? Will we get back even the limited Constitution which was destroyed with the help of gunboats and bayonets? No. That constitution apparently gave too much. Although the Governor had the overriding powers of veto and certification, the policy-making Executive Council had a majority of 6-4 in favour of the elected. Incidentally the Robertson Commission let the cat out of the bag. In paragraph 216 of the Report, it stated: **"But it is clear from paragraph 97 of their Report that the Commission (Waddington Constitution) did not accept that all elected ministers would be drawn from one party and thus enable it to assume a decisive role in the Executive Council."** In other words, the Waddington Commission did not expect that a single party would have won a majority. That accounts for their generosity. This mistake, said the Robertson Commission, must be corrected. The P.P.P. by winning 18 out of the 24 seats, demonstrated that they could win a majority.

Therefore, "the reintroduction of a ministerial system based upon universal adult suffrage with elected ministers in the majority in Executive Council is bound to involve the risk that the impetuosity and inexperience of elected ministers will necessitate frequent recourse to reserved powers. We, therefore, believe that for an initial period there should be some means short of using the Governor's reserved powers, of ensuring that the well-being of the Colony as a whole is not jeopardised and that the basic principles of democratic government are observed."

Basic principles of democratic governmen! Who will enunciate these? Not the people's elected representatives, but nominated and official members. Any future Executive Council must have an equality of five elected and five official and nominated members with the Governor holding the casting vote.

The substance of power will even then come back fully into the hands of Whitehall.

A few other minor variations on the Waddington Constitution were recommended. The Upper fully nominated House, the State Council, will have (in addition to the one Minister Without Portfolio, three other Ministers (one Minister with Portfolo chosen by the elected Mnisters, the Chief Secretary and the Development Secretary, both Government officials.

The Lower House, the House of Assembly, will have 25 elected members and two Government officials, and of these 6 will be ministers (four elected Ministers without Portfolios, the Financial Secretary and Attorney General, and two officials."

In other words, the portfolios of defence, police, law and order, justice, foreign affairs, finance, will be outside the hands of elected Ministers, while the Governor will have the last say with his casting vote in the Executive Council, proceedings of which incidentally are secret.

Governor is boss

To round off their reactionary proposals, they suggested "that all statutory Boards, Committees of Inquiry and boards with executive functions should be appointed by the Governor, on the recommendation of the Executive Council, but that the Governor, in approving or refusing assent should act in his discretion. With regard to committees solely advisory to a Minister, the Minister should make the appointments."

The elected Ministers must be no more than puppets. Further, they considered it advisable that the Legislature should not have financial control over certain services. These are the Governor and his staff, and the Public Services Commission.

The Robertson Commission has done well the job for which is was hired. And to Mr. Lyttelton (now Lord Chandos) has gone a tactical victory. For of the three members of the Commission, one was a high trade union official of the British Trades Union Congress, another a prominent Guianese. But for us too, has come a victory—we have succeeded in thoroughly exposing the nauseating hypocrisy of the British Government about leading colonial peoples to self-government.

Manley's Policy

from page 1

mente, managed to scrape through, but with their 1949 majorities sharply reduced.

The People's Freedom Movemnent, formed five months before the elections in order to secure the best for the people, although not securing seats, made a definite impression on the electorate.

Its platform of anti-imperialism, anti-exploitation, and unity of the common people against their enemy, made it possible for the people to see the real enemy in full view. The two constituencies where candidates were put forward resulted in sugar workers giving solid support. In North St. Elizabeth, the people's candidate polled more votes than both the Labour Party and the Farmers' Party candidates combined, in the sugar area.

The "Jamaica Times" saw our success as the "seeds of Communism." It is, however, known by the people to be the seeds of anti-imperialism.

Ken Hill's folly

Ken Hill's National Labour Party's defeat was due entirely to his policy of refusing to "re-unite the Left," and go forward on a militant working-class programme. Instead, this ex-working class leader allied himself with the discredited Bustamante, in the hope that Busta would not run a candidate against him.

The shrewd Bustamante, however, played up to him, and four weeks before the elections nominated his candidate for the constituency. Hill was left in the cold. Busta was right back in town. The very constituency that Bustamante himself had to run away from in 1949, is once more represented by a Busta man. Thanks to Ken Hill.

Because of the "Left" division and the fact that the Bustamante Party has completely discredited itself, the P.N.P. was able to convince the electorate to accept it as the available alternative.

What of Socialism?

The programme, far from being a Socialist one, is very pleasing to the local capitalists and to imperialism. Apart from abandoning nationalisation and unemployment pay, it walks wide of the immediate needs of the people. "It is the J.L.P. that has converted the P.N.P. to Free Enterprise," boasts the J.L.P.

Immediately the results were known, Mr. Manley issued a statement saying that Nationalisation was not the answer for the island's problems. The "answer," he said, "is an intensified growing agricultural programme with capital assistance from abroad."

This is what he calls "moderate Socialism." A couple of days later, Manley arrived in New York in search of an "expert and adviser" to his Government. He found a Mr. Cadbury in six hours. Interviewed by the American Radio, he was asked about his Party and Socialism. "Never mind about Socialism! that's a theoretical idea," he said, "We are interested in a thing called practical development and what we need is foreign capital." "American business, take note!" the Yankee announcer called.

This is how Manley plans to discredit and drag Socialism in the gutter. But the People's Freedom Movement has called a conference to analyse the election results and consider the possibility of creating a REAL People's Movement as a genuine alternative to the present policies of the P.N.P. leaders which is bound to frustrate the hopes of our people. Manley will not be allowed to mislead the people as his cousin Bustamante, for ten years.

The fight goes forward for Freedom from Imperialism, for Better Living Conditions and for Peace.

WEST Indians in Brixton had a wonderful time of their lives in their own locality on Saturday February 26th, when a grand calypso dance was held at the Lambeth Town Hall, organised by the C.L.C.

Publicity was focused on this dance as on the one the previous week, because it was thought to be a test of working together between black and white in Brixton.

In the picture, from left to right: Councillor White of Lambeth; Billy Strachan, Secretary of the Caribbean Labour Congress; and Col. Marcus Lipton, M.P.

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